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**I N S T I T U T E O F P U B L I C
A F F A I R S**

Małgorzata Sikorska

Poland - Austria

**Mutual perceptions during
the enlargement of the European Union**

INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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MAIN CONCLUSIONS

- ❑ The image of Austria in Poles' opinion is strongly more positive than the perception of Poland by Austrians. Poles appear to have more friendly feelings towards Austria than Austrians towards Poland, according to the survey.
- ❑ The image of a typical Austrian which can be inferred from the statements of Polish respondents is more positive than the image of an average Pole as perceived by the respondents from Austria. Both Poles and Austrians agree that our nations are strongly dissimilar.
- ❑ Poles tend to see Austria as, firstly, a tourist country, a place for holidays and relaxation, and secondly, a well-organized, wealthy state/nation. When describing Austria in June 1999, Poles seldom referred to the past, focusing predominantly on a contemporary vision of Austria. In contrast, the Austrian respondents talking about Poland included elements connected with the past, declaring that they associate our country with World War II, the former eastern block, Solidarity and Lech Wałęsa. The strongest association Austrian respondents have concerning Poland is with the Polish Pope.
- ❑ The image of Austria and a typical Austrian which can be constructed on the basis of the statements of Polish respondents is more consistent than the perception of Poland and an average Pole by Austrians.
- ❑ Poles attribute more importance to Austria than Austrians to Poland, both with reference to their own country and to Europe.
- ❑ The political success of Jörg Haider and his Freedom Party have somewhat altered the perception of both Austria and Austrians among Poles. The most marked change concerns the level of friendliness towards Austria: in a survey carried out in June 1999, 60 per cent of the respondents declared a "friendly" or "very friendly" attitude towards that country; in contrast, in February 2000 only 41 per cent of respondents chose those answers. At the same time the number of people declaring "unfriendly" or "very unfriendly" feelings towards Austria rose from 13 to 20 per cent, and the number of those choosing the answer "neither friendly nor unfriendly" increased by 10 percentage points.
- ❑ The recent political changes in Austria have also had a negative influence on the Poles' image of a typical Austrian. In the February 2000 survey Polish respondents gave a more negative rating of Austrians on all the qualities used in constructing the image of an average Austrian.
- ❑ The most important variable which differentiates Poles regarding their positive or negative perceptions of Austrians is education: the higher it is, the higher their evaluation. The same correlation exists as regards the evaluation of other nations.
- ❑ Both in the case of Poles expressing their opinions of Austrians and in the reverse situation the following correlation appears: the smaller the respondent's knowledge of a country, the more negative his or her perception of it. This can be interpreted in at least two ways. On the one hand, it can mean that greater knowledge acquired by an average

Pole or Austrian leads to a more positive attitude to the other nation. On the other hand it can be argued that limited knowledge of a country results from previously existing prejudice; and if so, an increase in knowledge does not necessarily guarantee a change of attitude.

- ❑ Austrians are rather sceptical about the idea of Poland joining the European Union (13 per cent of the respondents approve of Poland's accession within the next five years, 23 per cent - within the next ten years. Out of six countries aspiring to EU membership about which Austrians were asked, only Bulgaria and Slovakia would be less welcome to the Union than Poland. Hungary, Slovenia and the Czech Republic were treated more favourably.
- ❑ Poland's accession into the European Union is associated by Austrians with the following threats: increase in crime, the inflow of cheap unskilled labour, greater costs to be borne by the present members of the Union. An unquestionable benefit of our entering the Union will be an opportunity to extend markets, increase in trade, and improved security in Europe.
- ❑ There is a certain disparity between the low support declared by Austrians towards the idea of Poland being admitted into the EU and a higher level of acceptance for specific forms of presence of a Pole in an Austrian's life. It appears that Austrians find it easier to accept Poles in direct, individual contacts than to approve of the whole country joining the Union, and of the social and economic changes it would occasion.

INTRODUCTION

The foreign policy of a nation is shaped by elites, but it should not be too far removed from the views and attitudes of voters. For this reason it is so important to observe and understand stereotypes and images of other nations on the level of whole societies. The existence of those stereotypes affects international relations, and identifying them is particularly relevant with reference to the process of European integration, which should involve societies and not just political and economic elites.

This report is the first part of a major research project undertaken by the Institute of Public Affairs, entitled "Mutual perceptions of Poles and Western Europeans". The purpose of the research is to determine the image of selected countries and nations in Poles' opinions and to analyse the way Poland and the Poles are perceived by citizens of those countries; to observe the distance between inhabitants of those countries to each other, and to describe the stereotypes which affect mutual contacts.

So far the IPA have carried out surveys in Austria, Sweden and Spain; we are planning to continue in Germany and France. The research into mutual perceptions of nationalities is a very good indicator of mutual relations between countries; it can portend potential tension and conflict and so make it possible to prevent them. That is why knowledge of public opinion is particularly valuable in the context of Poland joining the EU and should not be underestimated or neglected by the elites.

The present report is particularly important because of the additional research which was carried out in Austria after the political changes resulting from the success of the Freedom Party. Our report, therefore, provides especially meaningful, up-to-date information, the more valuable because it can be compared with the results of research carried out before the changes in Austria.

Our warmest thanks go to Professor Rudolf Bretschneider, the director of GfK Austria, who made it possible for us to carry out the Austrian part of the survey. He appreciated the value not only of comparative research, but of its role in anticipating social tension and preventing it. We would also like to thank the Batory Foundation and the Ford Foundation, which financed the research in Poland.

We also thank Professor Aleksandra Jasińska-Kania, Professor Zbigniew Bokszański and Professor Tomasz Szarota for their valuable help in preparing the conception of the research.

THE IMAGE OF AUSTRIA AND THE IMAGE OF POLAND

In the beginning we must stress that we examined both the images of the particular countries and their inhabitants, assuming that we can find common or different elements in them. In the questionnaire we used open questions, which grasp the first associations, as well as closed questions with structured categories.

The Image of Austria - Typical Associations for Poles

The image of Austria is a positive one, quite consistent and mainly concerns the present times. The first associations of Polish respondents¹ concerning Austria can be divided into two significant groups: firstly - Austria is a "tourist" – a holiday destination country, and secondly - an affluent, orderly and tidy, clean, etc. country. Both the first and the second group of associations shows a clearly positive attitude of the respondents to the country in question. After all, what can be more pleasant than spending vacation in an affluent country associated with a "better life?" Only for some of the respondents is Austria a reminder of the historical partitions of Poland (7%) and the war, Hitler, nazi occupation (3%). One can therefore say that **among Poles the prevailing associations refer to present times and to what this country has to offer now.**²

Poles, when expressing their opinions on Austria,³ strongly said that this is a country in which:

- 1) there is good work organisation (72% *strongly agree or agree*);
- 2) there is a market economy, like in other Western European countries (71%);
- 3) civil liberties are respected (65%);
- 4) there is fast economic growth (64%).

Whereas the second of the above statements refers to an obvious fact that it is hard to negate (Austria is a country with a market economy and functions in a similar way to other western countries), the first and third statements, and also partly the fourth contain opinions of respondents that refer more to their beliefs than their knowledge. The high percentages in

¹ closed question was used: *What do you associate Austria with?*

² Typical associations of Poles with Austria and Austrians with Poland are presented in Table 3.

³ closed question was used (data from the survey of June 1999).

replies *strongly agree* and *agree* in this case show a positive attitude of respondents to this country. Three out of the four statements, which according to Polish respondents well describe Austria, refer to the economic domain (cf. Table 1).

After the recent changes in Austrian politics, fewer Poles than last year were inclined to say that Austria is a country in which civil liberties are respected. In addition, the image of Austria has undergone certain polarisation. It is worth noting that when asked to comment on the statement: *in Austria there is a parliamentary system, like in other Western European countries*, and *politicians are incompetent*, a much smaller number of respondents replied *hard to tell/don't know*.

Table 1. Poles' opinions of Austria – a comparison of data from June 1999 and February 2000 (in percentages)

<i>Austria is a country where...</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>		<i>Agree</i>		<i>Agree and disagree to the same extent</i>		<i>Disagree</i>		<i>Strongly disagree</i>		<i>Hard to tell/don't know</i>	
	1999	2000	1999	2000	1999	2000	1999	2000	1999	2000	1999	2000
There is fast economic growth	31		33		15		2		1		18	
Bureaucracy makes it difficult to deal with even the simplest matters	3		8		16		16		16		41	
There is good work organisation	41	44	31	29	8	11	1	1	1	1	18	14
Corruption is widespread	2		6		20		17		11		44	
There is a parliamentary system, like in other Western European countries	38	37	15	22	9	16	2	2	1	1	35	22
Politicians are incompetent	2	4	6	8	13	24	19	17	20	18	40	29
Civil liberties are respected	39	26	26	24	10	22	2	6	1	2	22	20
The Catholic Church has too much influence	2		5		20		20		18		35	
There is a market economy, like in other Western European countries	53		18		7		1		1		20	
Foreigners are disliked		17		15		23		14		10		21
Democracy is endangered		12		12		24		12		13		27

It must be added that the information obtained with the inclusion of two new statements to the questionnaire carried out in February 2000 (*in Austria democracy is endangered and in Austria foreigners are disliked*) show a less positive attitude of Poles towards Austria. None of the previously surveyed negative statements concerning this country (e.g. *it is a country where corruption is widespread, bureaucracy makes it difficult to handle even the simplest matters*) gained such high approval among Poles.

The Image of Poland - Typical Associations for Austrians

Whereas building a consistent image of Austria (based on two distinct groups of associations) out of the responses of Poles was relatively easy, reconstructing the image of Poland in the eyes of Austrian respondents is much more complicated and produces a definitely less clear effect. While it is true that three main groups of associations can be distinguished, these nonetheless did not gain such strong confirmation in the responses of surveyed Austrians as in the case of the responses of Poles. The most common group of associations refers to the Polish Pope and to the religiousness of Poland. Notably, for as much as 20% of surveyed Austrians, Poland is mainly associated with John Paul II, whereas other associations appeared in half of this number of replies at most. The second group refers to various negative associations (Poland is a poor country with a high crime rate, with frequent car theft). The third group is built around the past - the more distant past (World War II) and the relatively recent past (the Eastern Bloc, Solidarity, Wałęsa).

Apart from the above three groups of associations that Austrian respondents have with Poland, there are also positive associations with the state of our country's economy and neutral associations with specific regions and cities of Poland. In both cases the groups of associations referred to were indicated by 10% of the respondents each (cf. Table 3).

In the opinions of respondents from Austria on the subject of our country, in only two cases was there a prevalence of positive responses over negative ones: first - to the statement that *in Poland civil liberties are respected* (31% of respondents replied *strongly agree* or *agree*, and 20% - *disagree* or *strongly disagree*); second - 33% of the respondents agreed that *Poland is a country where there is a parliamentary system, like in other Western European countries*, while 24% were of the opposite view (cf. Table 2).

When Austrians rated Poland, they mainly said that it is a country in which 1) *the Catholic Church has too much influence* (53% *strongly agree or agree*). Nearly every other Austrian does not agree with the statement that in Poland *there is good work organisation* and that *there is a market economy, like in other Western European countries*, while 31% of Austrians *strongly disagree or disagree* that in Poland *there is fast economic growth*. According to 35% of the surveyed Austrians, in Poland corruption is widespread ("only" 15% had the opposite view), and bureaucracy makes it difficult to deal with even the simplest matters (32% and 11% respectively). It must be clearly emphasised that when set against the above information, Polish politicians came out surprisingly well: "only" 18% of the Austrian respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that they are incompetent, "as many as" 27% were of the opposite view.

Table 2. Austrians' opinions about Poland (in percentages)

<i>Poland is a country where...</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree and disagree to the same extent</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Hard to tell/ don't know</i>
There is fast economic growth	6	16	28	22	9	19
Bureaucracy makes it difficult to deal with even the simplest matters	11	21	22	7	4	35
There is good work organization	1	6	22	31	15	25
Corruption is widespread	13	22	26	9	6	24
There is a parliamentary system, like in other Western European countries	13	20	22	16	8	21
Politicians are incompetent	5	13	24	16	11	31
Civil liberties are respected	7	24	28	15	4	22
The Catholic Church has too much influence	30	23	16	12	4	15
There is a market economy, like in other Western European countries	3	11	24	27	18	17

It is also worth emphasising that the Austrians more often than the Poles responded *agree and disagree to the same extent* (usually to the statements: in Poland *civil liberties are respected; there is fast economic growth and corruption is widespread*). This confirms that the inhabitants of Austria have a less consistent and less clear image of our country than the image Poles have of Austria.

Table 3. Typical associations with Austria among Poles and with Poland among Austrians (open question)

Poles' associations with Austria	Austrians' associations with Poland
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Tourism, holidays</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the Alps, Tirol, mountains, tunnels through mountains (35%) - Vienna (20%) - Music, waltz, Strauss, New Year concerts (17%) - Tourism, rest, scenery, clean air (15%) - Snow, winter sports, Olympics (12%) - Many ancient monuments, museums, galleries, castles (3%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>A Catholic country/ the Pope's country</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the Pope (20%) - a religious, Catholic country (8%)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>A country of better life</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prosperity, wealth, a better life (12%) - Cleanliness, order, tidiness (9%) - a strong economy, high technology, agriculture, modernity (8%) - precision, reliability, responsibility, diligence (5%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Negative associations</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a poor country (11%) - general negative stereotypes (10%) - crime (8%) - car theft (6%)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The past</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Memories of World War II (10%) - Communism, the former eastern block (9%) - „Solidarność”, Lech Wałęsa (7%)

Summing up, it can be said that **Poles see Austria in a much more positive way than Austrians see Poland**. The comparison of the image of Poland and Austria – inferred from the answers to a series of questions evaluating both the economies and the political systems shows that the image of the Austria among Poles is also **more consistent** than the Austrian perception of our country. Charts 1 and 2 illustrate this conclusion.

Chart 1. Poles' opinions of Austria and Austrians' opinions of Poland (answers *strongly agree* and *agree*)

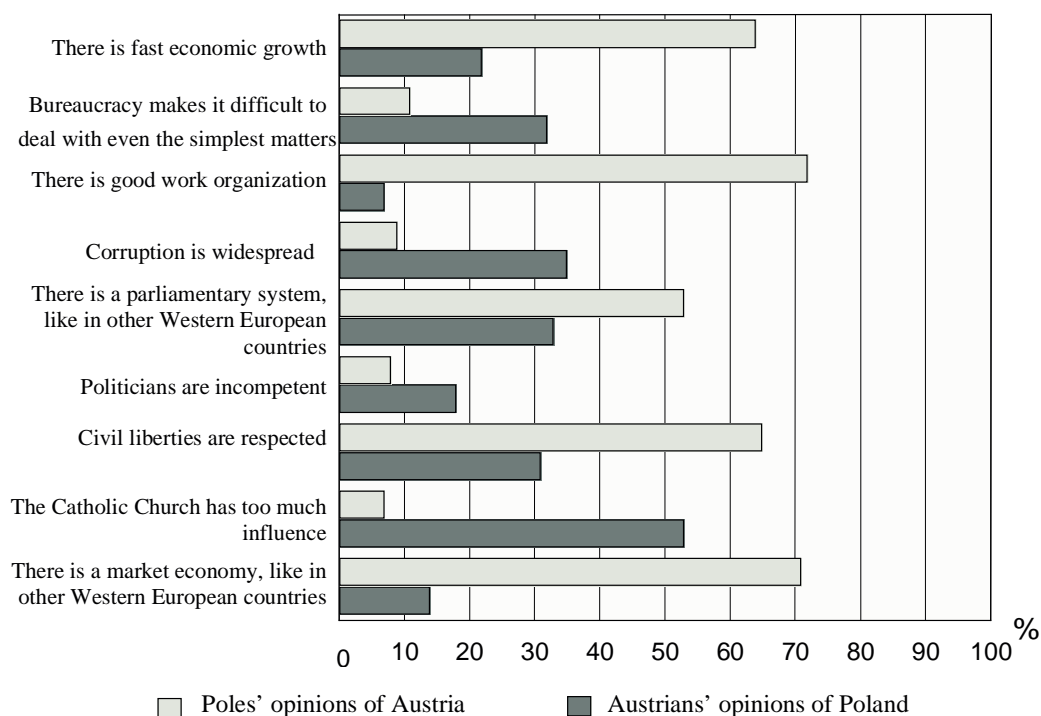
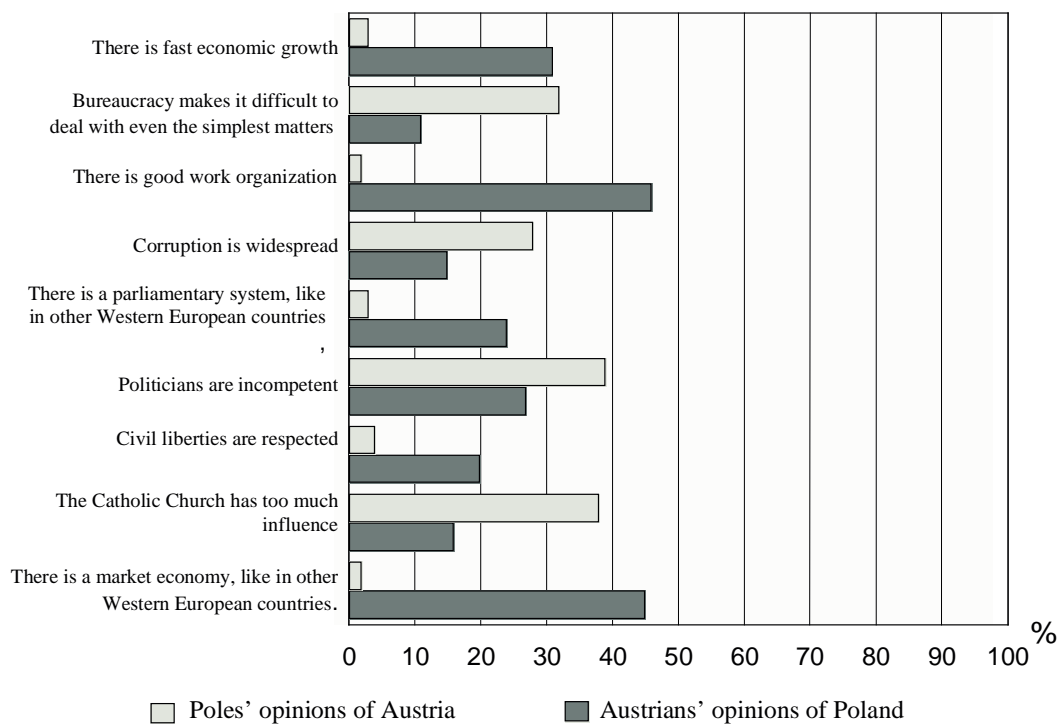


Chart 2. Poles' opinions of Austria and Austrians' opinions of Poland (answers *strongly disagree* and *disagree*)

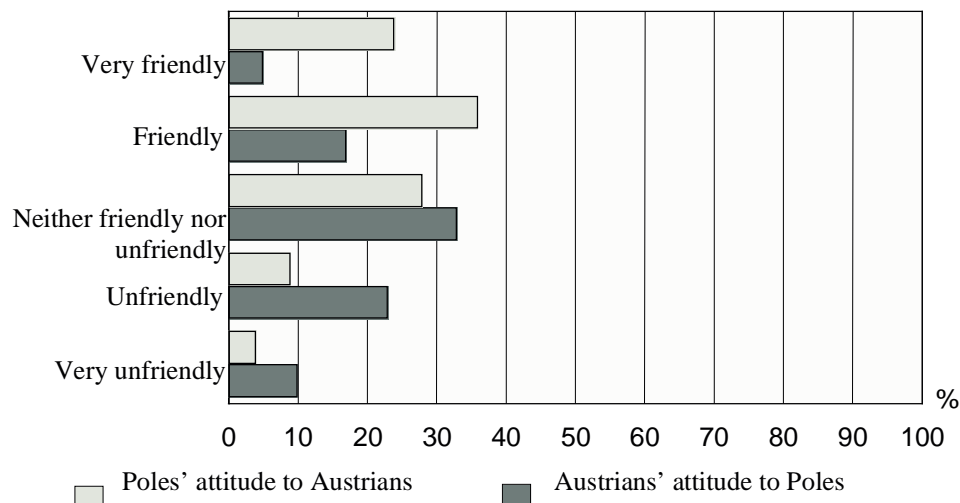


It is worth noting that while the Polish respondents above all appreciated Austria's achievements in economy, the surveyed Austrians were more often inclined to perceive the transformations that took place in Poland in the political and public domain than the changes in economy.

Declared Friendly/Unfriendly Feelings Towards a Nation

Poles not only have a **more favourable picture** of Austrians as a nation than Austrians have of Poles; Austrians are also better liked by Poles than Poles are by Austrians (cf. Chart 3). As much as 60% of Poles surveyed in summer 1999 declared *very friendly* or *friendly feelings* towards the Austrian nation and only 13% declared *unfriendly* or *very unfriendly feelings*. Among Poles, the French and Hungarians enjoy greater favour than Austrians.⁴ However, the Poles generally have quite a positive attitude towards most of the nations mentioned in the survey. The only exception is the attitude towards the Russians (the proportion of declared friendly/unfriendly feelings was outweighed by negative indications), and Germans ("only" 39% declared *very friendly* or *friendly feelings*, and 31% *unfriendly* or *very unfriendly feelings*) (cf. Table 4).

Chart 3. Friendly/unfriendly feelings of Poles towards Austrians and Austrians towards Poles



⁴ In the survey Poles were asked about their attitude towards Germans, Czechs, the French, Hungarians, Austrians, Russians, Swedes.

^a Data for Poland based on the June 1999 survey.

The political changes in Austria and the success of the Freedom Party of Jörg Haider significantly lowered the friendliness declared by Poles towards the Austrian. From the 60% of *very friendly* or *friendly feelings*, this rating dropped to 41%. At the same time, the number of persons with *unfriendly* or *very unfriendly feelings* towards the Austrians increased from 13% to 20%. The number of respondents who said that they had *neither friendly or unfriendly feelings* rose by ten percentage points.

In general, Austrians declare friendliness towards all of the surveyed countries with greater reticence - the responses expressing *very friendly* or *friendly feelings* appeared less frequently than in responses of Poles, while Austrian respondents declared more often that they have neither *friendly* nor *unfriendly feelings*. However, this does not change the little optimistic fact that among the nations that Austrians were asked to rate,⁵ Poland had strongly negative ratings - the negative opinions (33%) outweighed the positive responses (22%). Worse than us were only the Russians (45% opinions were negative, 14% positive). Opinions similar to the ones on Poles were expressed about the Czechs (22% positive responses, 27% negative ones) (cf. Table 5).

Table 4. Poles' feelings towards other nations (in percentages)

Nation	<i>Very friendly</i>	<i>Friendly</i>	<i>Neither friendly nor unfriendly</i>	<i>Unfriendly</i>	<i>Very unfriendly</i>
Germans	16	23	30	15	16
Czechs	24	36	29	9	3
The French	33	34	24	5	3
Hungarians	36	34	24	7	2
Austrians	24	36	28	9	4
	<i>17</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>7</i>
Russians	10	14	24	24	28
The Swedish	23	35	32	8	3

Answers *hard to tell/ don't know* have not been included. The figures in italics come from a survey carried out in February 2000.

⁵ In the survey Austrians were asked about their attitude towards Germans, Czechs, the French, Hungarians, Poles, Russians and Swedes.

Table 5. Austrians' feelings towards other nations (in percentages)

Nation	<i>Very friendly</i>	<i>Friendly</i>	<i>Neither friendly nor unfriendly</i>	<i>Unfriendly</i>	<i>Very unfriendly</i>
Germans	22	36	31	6	4
Czechs	4	18	39	18	9
The French	15	38	27	8	4
Hungarians	13	38	30	8	4
Poles	5	17	33	23	10
Russians	4	10	27	23	22
The Swedish	20	45	18	2	1

Answers *hard to tell/don't know* have not been included.

Among the only variables are highly correlated with the intensity of friendly/unfriendly feelings is towards Austrians education (the higher it is, the more positive the ratings) and age - elderly persons, over 59 years of age, declare less friendly feelings than young people. As regards the surveyed Austrians, demographic variables related with the intensity of friendly/unfriendly feelings could not be observed.

Juxtaposing other answers with the responses to the question on the intensity of friendly/unfriendly feelings, one could formulate the following conclusion: the respondents declaring more friendly feelings towards a given nation better rate specific aspects of the country in which this nation lives, whereas the respondents who declare more unfriendly feelings find it harder to express an opinion on these aspects (the frequent choice is *don't know*). Thus, the lack of knowledge is correlated here with a negative approach. This correlation is also confirmed by the analysis of other questions.

The knowledge of Austria among Poles and of Poland among Austrians

To begin with, one should say that **Poles declare greater knowledge of Austria than Austrians of Poland.**

Poles know Austria and its inhabitants first of all thanks to television programs (this reply was chosen by as much as 55% of respondents) and from books written by Austrians and Austrian movies (cf. Table 6). Knowledge of our country among Austrians, on the other hand,

is more often based on personal contacts - having Polish acquaintances who live in Poland or in Austria (cf. Table 7).

Table 6. Knowledge of Austria among Poles (in percentages)

Statements:	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Hard to tell/ don't know</i>
<i>You have been to Austria</i>	19	80	1
<i>You have Austrian acquaintances living in Poland</i>	4	95	1
<i>You have had infrequent/chance contacts with Austrians living in Austria</i>	21	78	1
<i>You have read books by Austrian authors or seen Austrian films</i>	31	57	12
<i>You have watched TV programs about Austria</i>	55	36	9

A variable that contributes to the number of contacts Poles have with Austria and Austrians is first of all education (the higher it is, the more contacts), as well as income (the higher it is, the more frequent the contacts, usually manifested in - it can be assumed - winter excursions for skiing).

Austrians declare less knowledge of our country than Poles of Austria. As much as 87% of the respondents have never visited Poland, and nearly the same percentage have no Polish acquaintances permanently residing in Poland. Austrians also watch fewer television programs about Poland (this answer was given by only 31%) than Poles about Austria (55%). As regards demographic and social variables correlated with the responses, it turned out that the most important one is education (the higher it is, the less frequently Austrians come to Poland). It can therefore be said that for people with a higher education (in Austria this is also linked with higher income) Poland is not a particular tourist attraction.

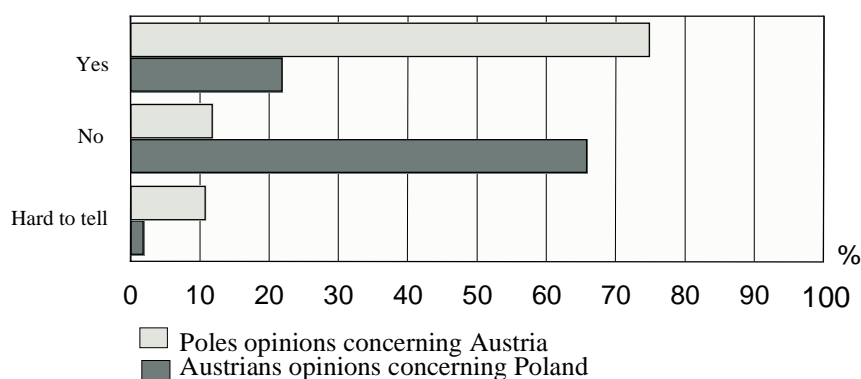
Table 7. Knowledge of Poland among Austrians (in percentages)

Statements	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Hard to tell/ don't know</i>
<i>You have been to Poland</i>	12	87	1
<i>You have Polish acquaintances living in Poland</i>	11	88	1
<i>You have Polish acquaintances living in Austria</i>	22	77	1
<i>You have had infrequent/chance contacts with Poles living in Poland</i>	21	78	1
<i>You have read books by Polish authors or seen Polish films</i>	15	83	2

<i>You have watched TV programs about Poland</i>	31	67	2
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Replies to the question on the intensity of friendly/unfriendly feelings towards a given nation combined with replies to the question about personal contacts with the given country confirm the hypothesis of a **connection between the knowledge about another country** (due to visits, contacts with its inhabitants etc.) **and a more positive attitude towards it**. In this context, it is significant to know that as much as 67% of the surveyed Austrians say that they would not like to spend their vacation in Poland (cf. Chart 4).

Chart 4. Willingness to spend holidays in Austria (Poles) and in Poland (Austrians)



Thus Poles not only declare better knowledge of Austria, but also greater willingness to develop their contacts with this country through holiday making. Austrians are interested in Poland to a much lesser extent and they would also be less willing to visit our country during vacation.

The perception of the role of Poland and Austria in Europe

The image of a given country can be shaped not only by stereotypes, but also by perceptions of the role played on the international arena.

Most Polish as well as Austrian respondents rate both countries as *countries of medium importance in Europe* (61% of Poles say this about Austria, and 67% of Austrians about Poland). However, while the second most frequently chosen reply among Poles was the statement: *Austria is a very important country in Europe* (23%), for Austrians the second

preferred reply was: *Poland is a country of no importance in Europe* (21%) (cf. Chart 5). Thus Poles ascribe more significance to Austria than Austrians to Poland.

A variable that differentiates the replies of Poles as well as Austrians is education (the higher it is, the greater the perceived significance of the country). It is worth noting that this correlation is stronger in the case of Austrians than Poles. It is interesting that the rating of a given country is in no way affected by the declared intensity of friendly or unfriendly feelings. This could indicate that the ratings of both countries are relatively more balanced, based on knowledge rather than on positive or negative emotions.

Chart 5. Poles' opinions of Austria's importance and Austrians' opinions of Poland's importance

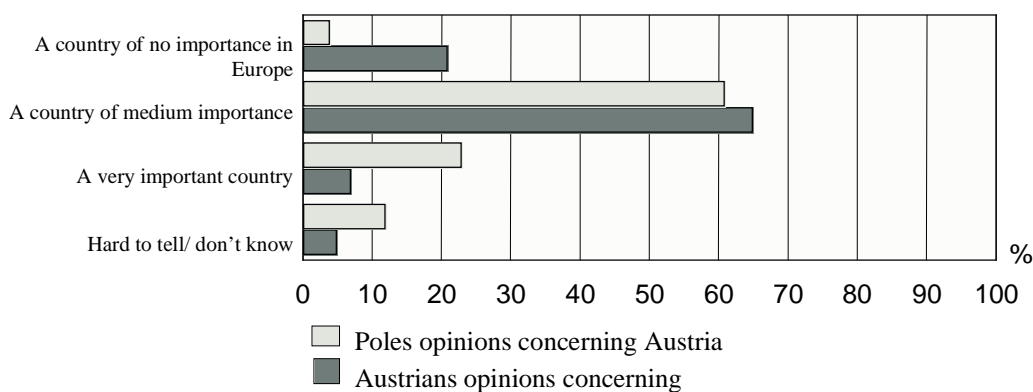


Table 8 shows the opinions of Poles on the significance of Austria in Europe, obtained in the June 1999 and in February 2000 polls. Taking into consideration the margin error for this type of research (+/- 3%), it cannot be said that the success of Haider's party lowered the significance attributed to this country by Poles.

Table 8. Poles' opinions of Austria's importance in Europe - comparison of the results from June 1999 and February 2000 (in percentages)

<i>Austria is (in Europe)</i>	June 1999	February 2000	Change
A country of no importance	4	5	+ 1
A country of medium importance	61	63	+ 2
A very important country	23	20	- 3
Hard to tell/ don't know	12	13	- 1

THE IMAGE OF A TYPICAL AUSTRIAN AND A TYPICAL POLE

So far we have been dealing with images of Poland and Austria as countries and the intensity of mutual friendly/unfriendly feelings of both nations. Now let us look at the image of individuals - Poles and Austrians.

The image of an average Austrian - which can be reconstructed on the basis of the responses of surveyed Poles - is much more positive than the image of an average Pole which emerges from the opinions of respondents from Austria. A typical Austrian in the eyes of Poles is above all a modern, tidy, disciplined and hardworking person (cf. Table 9).

Table 9. The image of a typical Austrian as seen by Poles (in percentages)

	1 ^a	2	3	4	5	
hardworking	31	38	27	3	0	lazy
tolerant	14	33	41	8	3	intolerant
modern	37	38	20	4	0,5	backwards/conservative
educated	25	41	30	3	1	uneducated
effective	22	43	31	3	0,2	ineffective
honest	14	33	46	5	0,6	dishonest
friendly	13	30	44	10	2	unfriendly
tidy	36	39	22	2	1	untidy
religious	4	17	51	20	6	not religious
responsible	22	43	31	3	0,5	irresponsible
disciplined	34	39	22	2	1	wilful

^a Based on a five-point scale, where 1 is e.g. *very hardworking* and 5 *very lazy*. *Don't know* answers have not been included.

It can be added that in the image of Austrians according to Polish respondents, the only variable clearly differentiating opinions is the education of the respondents (the higher it is, the more positive features are perceived). In the case of the image of a typical Pole in the opinion of Polish respondents, the following variables were significant (although these correlation are not as strong as in the case of the evaluation by Austrians): age (the younger the respondent, the more critical he is), education (the higher it is, the more criticism there is), income (the higher it is, the less positive the ratings) and (the least important) gender (women more often rated a typical Pole in a more critical way).

Table 10. The image of a typical Pole as seen by Austrians (in percentages)

	1 ^a	2	3	4	5	
hardworking	9	21	35	12	6	lazy
tolerant	6	21	35	11	4	intolerant
modern	3	11	26	30	14	backwards/conservative
educated	5	22	37	15	3	uneducated
effective	4	12	39	17	5	ineffective
honest	8	20	30	18	7	dishonest
friendly	14	34	26	7	3	unfriendly
tidy	7	23	32	15	6	untidy
religious	37	26	16	2	2	not religious
responsible	7	22	35	10	4	irresponsible
disciplined	6	24	32	12	6	wilful

^a Based on a five-point scale, where 1 is e.g. *very hardworking* and 5 *very lazy*. *Don't know* answers have not been included.

A typical Pole in the eyes of Austrians has such positive features as friendliness and discipline. Another element of this image, though, is backwardness/conservatism (cf. Table 10). A feature which most strongly most the Poles - both in the image built by themselves and by Austrians - is religiousness. What is interesting is that this feature differentiates a typical Pole and a typical Austrian. While religiousness is predominant feature of a typical Pole, as regards Austrians (in the Polish opinion) the reverse is the case. The same goes for discipline – the Poles think they lack it, while the image of a typical Austrian is built among others on this feature. In the case of these two features, the images of a typical Pole and a typical Austrian are opposite.

Table 11. Images of a typical Pole and a typical Austrian: comparison

	Poles' opinions	Austrians' opinions
<i>A typical Pole is...</i>	<i>religious</i> rather dishonest rather wilful rather lazy rather intolerant	<i>religious</i> backwards/ conservative rather friendly rather disciplined
<i>A typical Austrian is</i>	<i>modern</i> <i>tidy</i> disciplined <i>hardworking</i> rather not religious	<i>tidy</i> <i>modern</i> <i>hardworking</i> friendly responsible

The words in italics indicate the qualities common to Poles' and Austrians' opinions of a given nation.

Table 11 presents which the features which according to the respondents, best characterise a typical Pole and a typical Austrian. Let us focus for a moment on the features with regard to which the respondents expressed an ambivalent attitude (*neither agree nor disagree*). As the data in Table 12 demonstrates, the Poles found it most difficult to express their opinion on such features as: responsibility, effectiveness, efficiency, being modern; being tidy vs. being untidy. When Poles describe a typical Austrian, it is the most difficult for them to decide whether he/she is rather religious, or non-religious; honest or dishonest; tolerant or intolerant, and friendly or unfriendly. What is interesting, the Austrians also have a problem with expressing an attitude towards the first three of the listed features when they describe themselves.

Table 12. The qualities of a typical Pole/Austrian about which opinions were very disparate

	Poles' opinions	Austrians' opinions
<i>A typical Pole is ...</i>	<i>responsible/irresponsible</i> <i>effective/ineffective</i> modern/backwards, conservative tidy/untidy	<i>effective/ineffective</i> educated/uneducated hardworking/ lazy <i>responsible/irresponsible</i> tolerant/intolerant
<i>A typical Austrian is...</i>	<i>religious/ not religious</i> <i>honest/ dishonest</i> friendly/ unfriendly <i>tolerant/ intolerant</i>	<i>religious/ not religious</i> <i>tolerant/ intolerant</i> effective/ ineffective <i>honest/ dishonest</i>

The words in italics indicate the qualities common to Poles' and Austrians' opinions of a given nation.

Summing up, it can be said that **the images of a typical Pole and a typical Austrian are quite different**, in the opinion of surveyed inhabitants of Poland and Austria. Whereas in the opinion of the latter a "statistical" Pole is above all religious, and also conservative and backward, although rather friendly and disciplined, a typical Austrian is usually modern, tidy, hardworking, responsible and in addition friendly. The hypothesis on lack of similarities between Poles and Austrians is confirmed by the range of responses to questions asked directly: *What do you think, are Poles similar to Austrians?* (in the questionnaire for Poles) and *What do you think, are Austrians similar to Poles?* (in the questionnaire for Austrians).

Chart 6. Opinions regarding similarity/dissimilarity between Poles and Austrians

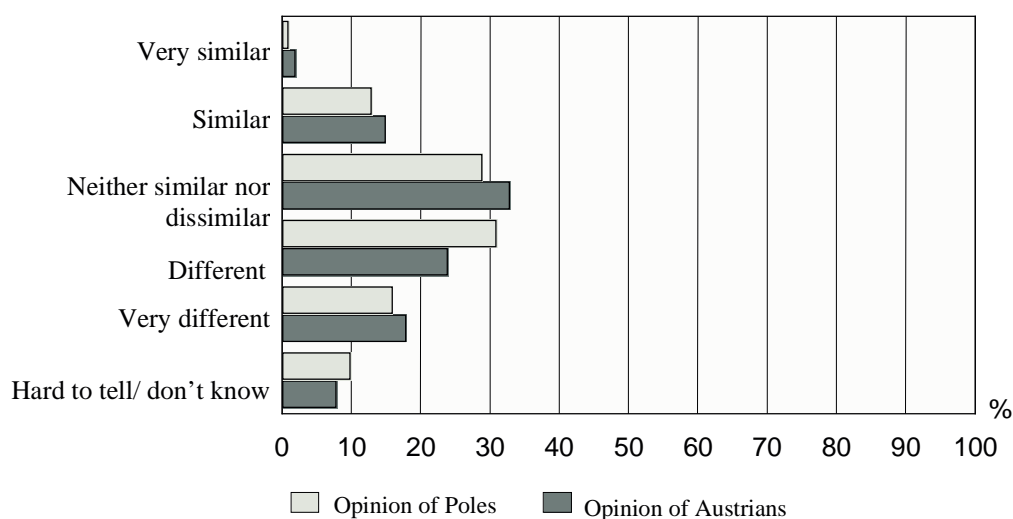


Chart 6 illustrates that the opinions of surveyed Poles and Austrians are exceptionally concurrent here and in addition close to a normal spread.

The Stereotype of a Pole and an Austrian

Poles have a relatively negative stereotype of themselves and they see themselves in a more negative way than they are perceived by Austrians. In the opinion of Polish respondents, a typical Pole is rather dishonest, wilful, lazy, intolerant and above all religious. Much more often than Austrians, Poles chose the medium indicators on the scale, which shows that their stereotype of ourselves is not only less positive, but also less distinct than the stereotype Austrians have of themselves.

Table 13. Poles' stereotype of a Pole

	1 ^a	2	3	4	5	
hardworking	15	22	31	24	8	lazy
tolerant	11	23	33	23	10	intolerant
modern	8	23	46	19	3	backwards/conservative
educated	8	26	45	18	2	uneducated
effective	7	25	47	17	3	ineffective
honest	6	19	41	27	8	dishonest
friendly	16	29	35	17	3	unfriendly

tidy	7	26	44	19	3	untidy
religious	45	35	15	3	1	not religious
responsible	7	23	48	18	4	irresponsible
disciplined	4	18	41	26	12	wilful

^a Based on a five-point scale, where 1 is e.g. *very hardworking* and 5 *very lazy*. *Don't know* answers have not been included.

However, the stereotype Austrians have of themselves is strongly more positive and clear. What is interesting, the stereotype Austrians have of themselves and their image in the opinion of Poles are relatively concurrent (the inhabitants of Austria add to their image such features as friendliness and responsibility).

Table 14. Austrians' stereotype of an Austrian (in percentages)

	1 ^a	2	3	4	5	
hardworking	31	43	20	4	0.4	lazy
tolerant	11	40	35	13	2	intolerant
modern	33	45	18	2	0.2	backwards/conservative
educated	27	50	18	2	0.1	uneducated
effective	16	47	28	2	0.2	ineffective
honest	23	46	25	3	0.2	dishonest
friendly	30	45	20	3	0.2	unfriendly
tidy	46	42	9	1	0.1	untidy
religious	10	30	44	13	1	not religious
responsible	29	50	18	1	0.2	irresponsible
disciplined	22	48	23	4	0.8	wilful

^a Based on a five-point scale, where 1 is e.g. *very hardworking* and 5 *very lazy*. *Don't know* answers have not been included.

Modification of the Image of a Typical Austrian Caused by Recent Political Changes in Austria

The data included in Table 15 show how the political success of Jörg Haider has affected the perception the Poles have of a typical Austrian. Much fewer Polish respondents are now inclined to say that Austrians are tolerant and friendly. What is interesting, the rating of an average Austrian has also changed significantly as regards such features as effectiveness/efficiency, honesty, as well as being modern, responsible and even tidy. The

political changes in Austria have made Poles rate Austrians worse in all the examined features.

Thus the overall image of the inhabitants of Austria has worsened among Poles.

Table 15. The image of a typical Austrian as seen by Poles – change between June 1999 and February 2000

	1+2 ^a	3	4+5	
Hardworking	- 5,4	+ 5,8	+ 0,3	Lazy
Tolerant	- 13,1	+ 4,9	+ 9,0	Intolerant
Modern	- 8,4	+ 5,7	+ 0,5	Backwards/conservative
Educated	- 5,9	+ 5,7	- 0,5	Uneducated
Effective	- 10,8	+ 11,1	+ 0,5	Ineffective
Honest	- 9,3	+ 9,0	+ 1,0	Dishonest
Friendly	- 12,7	+ 6,7	+ 6,4	Unfriendly
Tidy	- 8,2	+9,3	+ 0,1	Untidy
Religious	- 3,2	+ 5,4	- 1,2	Not religious
Responsible	- 8,3	+ 7,3	+ 1,8	Irresponsible
Disciplined	- 8,0	+ 7,7	+ 1,0	Wilful

^a Based on a five-point scale, where 1 is *strongly agree* and 5 *strongly disagree*. The columns show the increase or decrease over the period from June 1999 to February 2000. Significant changes are shaded.

The Distance between Poles and Austrians

When examining the images of countries, it is also worth analysing the distance between the inhabitants of Poland and Austria. Below are the results of the application of a question built according to the Bogardus scale⁶ (Tables 16, 17).

Table 16. Distance shown by Poles towards Austrians (in percentages)

<i>Would you consent to an Austrian...</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Hard to tell/ don't know</i>
Visiting Poland as a tourist?	97	1	2
Living in Poland permanently?	62	26	12

⁶ This scale – to put it in general – measures the distance between representatives of individual nations. Questions are arranged from statements showing the lowest degree of nearness to those showing the greatest nearness.

Being granted Polish citizenship?	54	32	14
Working together with you?	69	18	13
Being your next-door neighbour?	73	16	11
Being a member of the town council in your town?	29	55	16
Managing the firm for which you work?	48	35	17
Becoming one of your close friends?	66	18	16
Becoming a member of your family by marrying one of your children?	54	23	23

Table 17. Distance shown by Austrians towards Poles (in percentages)

<i>Would you consent to a Pole...</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Hard to tell/ don't know</i>
Visiting Austria as a tourist?	90	7	3
Living in Austria permanently?	56	38	6
Being granted Austrian citizenship?	44	48	8
Working together with you?	69	23	8
Being your next-door neighbour?	65	26	9
Being a member of the town council in your town?	36	56	8
Managing the firm for which you work?	51	38	11
Becoming one of your close friends?	58	30	12
Becoming a member of your family by marrying one of your children?	51	33	16

As the data in Table 16 and 17 as well as in Chart 7 show, Poles are somewhat more inclined to accept the presence of a foreigner-Austrian in our public life (political, economic, and also private) than Austrians expressing opinions on a foreigner-Pole. Many Poles would consent for an Austrian to come to Poland as a tourist (97%), become the next-door neighbour (73%), work in the same firm (69%), or become a close friend (66%).

Of the nine suggested responses only in two cases did the respondents from Poland less willingly than the respondents from Austria agree to the presence of a foreigner. This was in a situation when a foreigner would be a member of the town council (this reply was given by 36% of Austrians and only 29% of Poles) and second, in which he/she would manage a firm for which the respondent worked (48% and 51% respectively).

For Poles as well as Austrians the most difficult situation to accept would be participation in the town council. Austrians would also find it hard to accept giving a Pole Austrian citizenship and allowing him/her to live in Austria permanently. **The presence of a foreigner-Pole in public and political life is not accepted**, being in a way reserved for the citizens of Austria.

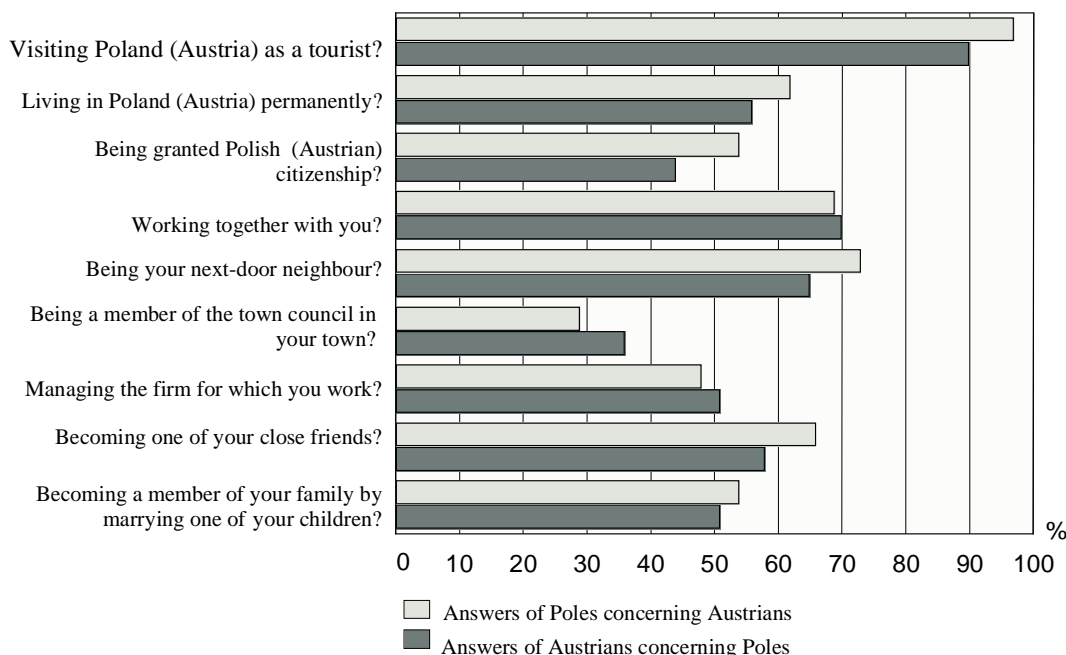
Most willingly - which is quite obvious - Austrians would consent for a Pole to visit their country as a tourist (90%), then to work together with a Pole (69%). It is interesting that nearly as many inhabitants of Poland would have nothing against working with an Austrian. More than half of the surveyed Austrians would also accept situations in which a foreigner-Pole would be their next-door neighbour (65%), would become one of their close friends (58%), and also live in Austria permanently (56% respondents consented to this; however, it has to be said that as much as 38% expressed disapproval). In each of the described situations Polish respondents would be more willing to see a foreigner-Austrian by eight percentage points on average.

It is particularly interesting that a relatively similar percentage of Poles and Austrians would also agree for an Austrian/Pole to become a member of their family by marrying a child of the respondent (51% Austrians and 54% Poles respectively). In both cases this statement was in third place from the end on the list of situations arranged in the order from the most willingly accepted by Poles and Austrians and ending with those in which they would accept a foreigner the least willingly.

Disparities (although it must be admitted that they are not great) occurred in the opinions of Poles and Austrians in the following matters: consent to obtaining citizenship of the other country (10% more respondents from Poland consented to citizenship for an Austrian than respondents from Austria were inclined to give citizenship to a Pole), approval of the presence of an Austrian/Pole among close friends and consent for an Austrian/Pole to be the next-door neighbour (in both cases the difference is 8 percentage points).

Chart 7. Mutual distance shown by Poles and Austrians (yes answers)

Would you consent to a Austrian (Pole)...



Poles somewhat more frequently than Austrians chose the reply *hard to tell/don't know*, which again may indicate a less crystallised opinion on the degree of acceptance/non-acceptance of the presence of a foreigner-Austrian in public and private life of inhabitants of Poland.

A variable that affects the attitude of surveyed Poles towards a foreigner-Austrian is education and age (the higher the education and the lower the age, the greater the acceptance of a foreigner-Austrian). In the case of Austrians, the only important variable is education (the higher it is, the better the rating).

Summing up, it can be said that Poles have a somewhat better attitude to the presence of foreigners-Austrians in our country than Austrians to the presence of foreigners - Poles in their country. However, these are not very big differences. There is also a certain disparity between the relatively low support of the inhabitants of Austria for the idea of Poland's accession to the European Union⁷ (which in the practical aspect would also for example result in joint work with Poles, Poles as next-door neighbours etc.) and a higher degree of acceptance expressed towards specific forms of the presence of a foreigner-Pole in the life of respondents from Austria. At the level of direct individual contacts, foreigners-Poles are easier to accept for Austrians than in the case of the accession of the whole country.

The question is why this is so? The following hypothesis can be presented: Austrians, thinking in categories of social developments (Poland's accession to the EU) and their economic consequences perceive in Poland and Poles (as a national group) a real threat associated with a rise in the crime rate, taking up jobs etc. However, they do not link this threat with individuals.

⁷ Cf. Next chapter.

POLAND'S INTEGRATION WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE OPINION OF POLES AND AUSTRIANS

In general it can be said (and it will come as no surprise) that Poles have a strongly more positive attitude towards enlargement of the European Union than Austrians.

In the survey described here, carried out in June 1999, seven out of ten Polish respondents said that Poland should become a member of the European Union within the next five years, and only 5% chose a reply negating the sense of our accession (cf. Table 18 and Chart 8). The Poles showed a little less enthusiasm - although the number of replies remained high - with regard to Hungary's accession to the European Union within the next five years (61%). The Poles declare the least support for the accession of Bulgaria and Slovenia. Poles have a strongly positive attitude to the idea of EU enlargement to include the countries that during the survey were already candidates. The positive attitude of Polish respondents to European Union enlargement is correlated with the variable of education: the higher it is, the more positive the attitude to fast accession of these countries (it is interesting that this correlation does not occur itself only in the case of Bulgaria).

Table 18. Poles' opinions concerning new members joining the European Union (in percentages)

Country	<i>Should become a member of the EU in the next 5 years</i>	<i>Should become a member of the EU in 5-10 years</i>	<i>Should become a member of the EU at a later date</i>	<i>Shouldn't be a member of the EU</i>	<i>New members should not be admitted to the EU at all</i>	<i>Hard to tell/ don't know</i>
Hungary	61	16	2	2	2	17
Slovakia	39	29	8	4	2	18
Bulgaria	23	32	15	6	3	19
Poland	70	11	2	5	2	10
Slovenia	29	29	14	5	2	20
The Czech Republic	57	20	4	2	2	15

Austrians are strongly less enthusiastic than Poles over the process of accepting new members to the European Union. Hungary, which in the opinion of Austrian respondents is the most predisposed country for the EU membership, was considered ready to join the EU within the next five years by only 36% of respondents. In this specific ranking of countries Poland

should be a member of the EU within the next five years in the opinion of only 13% of respondents, and according to 23% Poland should join the EU within 5 - 10 years. Nearly one fifth of the respondents do not consent to our accession at all (cf. Table 19). Slovakia received as bad opinion as Poland and Bulgaria came out much worse. A relatively large number of Austrians do not want any changes (they chose: *shouldn't be a member of the European Union and new members should not be admitted to the EU at all*).

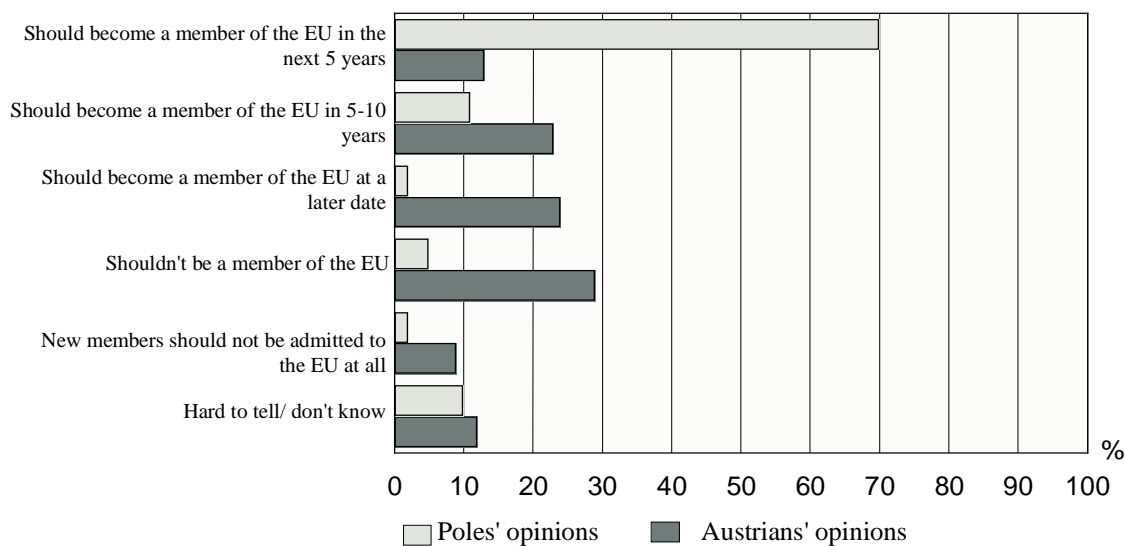
Table 19. Austrians' opinions concerning new members joining the European Union (in percentages)

Country	<i>Should become a member of the EU in the next 5 years</i>	<i>Should become a member of the EU in 5-10 years</i>	<i>Should become a member of the EU at a later date</i>	<i>Shouldn't be a member of the EU</i>	<i>New members should not be admitted to the EU at all</i>	<i>Hard to tell/ don't know</i>
Hungary	36	26	10	8	8	12
Slovakia	11	25	25	18	8	13
Bulgaria	5	12	31	26	10	16
Poland	13	23	24	19	9	12
Slovenia	26	24	17	14	8	11
The Czech Republic	20	27	17	15	9	12

According to the research carried out in Austria by e.g. Peter A. Ulram,⁸ variables that contribute to a positive or negative attitude of Austrians to the process of EU enlargement are: education (the higher it is, the more positive the attitude), the professional status (blue collars have a worse attitude to the idea of EU enlargement than people from the white-collar group), gender (women have a more reticent attitude than men), place of residence (a worse attitude of rural inhabitants than people from big cities), as well as reading the daily tabloids (among readers of these newspapers the prevailing number are persons with a negative attitude to EU enlargement). Peter A. Ulram described two categories: of "winners" and "losers." The people who see themselves as "losers" in the existing social and economic situation treat EU enlargement as a future threat to an already uncertain situation. The people who can be called "winners," on the other hand, have a strongly more positive attitude to prospects of membership of new states in the European Union.

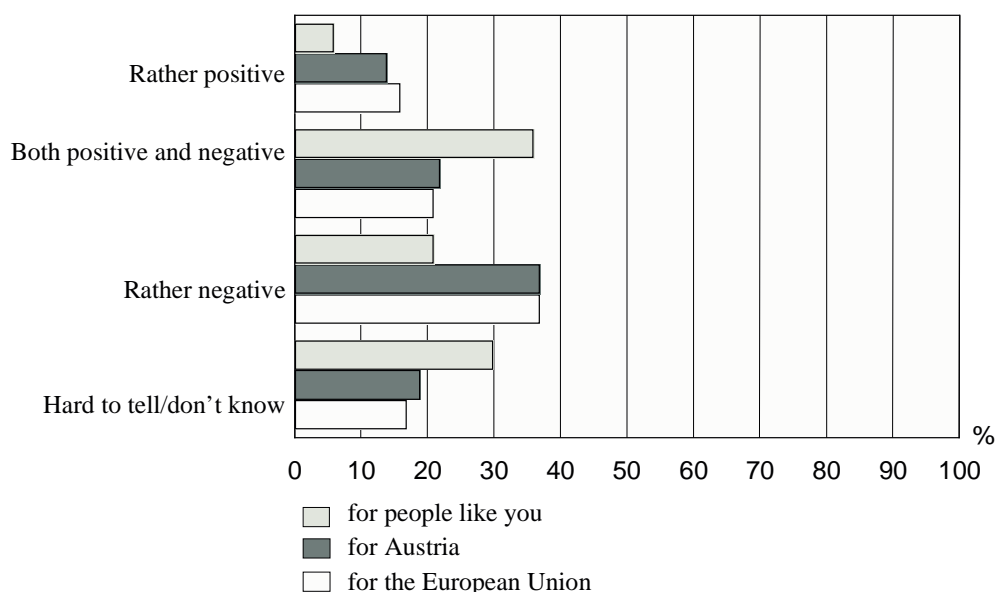
⁸ P. A. Ulram, *A New Union of Hopes and Fears: Public Opinions on the EU Eastern Enlargement in EU-Member and Candidate Countries*, typescript at the Institute of Public Affairs

Chart 8. Level of acceptance/ rejection of Poland joining the European Union expressed by Poles and Austrians



In the opinion of the Austrians expressing their views on the subject of the consequences of Poland's accession to the European Union, responses with a negative attitude prevail over positive indications. This correlation concerns the consequences of our membership for both Austria and the EU, as well as for the respondents directly. In the last case the replies of Austrian respondents were the least decisive - 36% saw both positive and negative consequences, and every third respondent was unable to explicitly express an opinion in this matter. When talking about the consequences of Poland's accession for Austria and for the European Union, respondents nearly twice as often pointed out the negative consequences than in the case of consequences for themselves (cf. Chart 9). This is an important statement, especially when we set it against the earlier observation that the surveyed Austrians had a more positive attitude to concrete forms of the presence of foreigners-Poles in the life of their country than to the idea of Poland's accession. It appears that on the level of individual relations Austrians give us a better rating than on inter-state level.

Chart 9. Austrian' opinions of potential results of Poland's joining the European Union



Let us focus on the arguments in favour of and against Poland's accession to the European Union, which are of importance to Austrians. These can be compared with the assumptions at the surveyed Poles concerning the arguments which should be convincing to inhabitants of Austria in favour of or against our accession.

Table 20. Austrians' and Poles' arguments for and against Poland joining the EU

Arguments	Austrians' opinions	Poles' opinions about arguments for or against Poland joining the EU for the Austrians
FOR Poland being admitted to the European Union	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - opening up a new market; trade (52%) - improved international security in Europe (31%) - cultural values, Poland's traditions (25%) - Poland's contribution to the struggle against communism (23%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - opening up a new market; trade (55%) - improved international security in Europe (29%) - Poland's contribution to the struggle against communism (27%) - cultural values, Poland's traditions (22%)
AGAINST Poland being admitted to the European Union	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - threat of an increase in crime (45%) - influx of cheap unskilled labour (43%) - present members of the Union to bear increased costs (38%) - environmental pollution (26%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - influx of cheap unskilled labour (50%) - present members of the Union to bear increased costs (34%) - Polish agriculture being antiquated (34%) - threat of an increase in crime (25%)

In the opinion of Austrians, Poland's accession may be dangerous to Austria first of all because of possible rise in the crime rate and influx of cheap and unskilled labour as well as

increased financial burdens for the existing members of the European Union. The analysis of the correlation shows that the fears Austrians have over Poland's accession are linked with their attitude concerning the pace of the accession.

Poles, on the other hand, when forecasting what arguments against Poland's EU accession can be of significance for Austrians, predicted that the biggest threat will be the inflow of cheap labour, but they underestimated the importance of the rise in the crime rate (this response was selected by 45% of Austrians and 25% of Poles) and the threat of environmental pollution (this was indicated by every fourth Austrian), and overestimated the significance of backwardness of our agriculture (this was mentioned by "only" 16% of respondents from Austria).

The Polish respondents were much more successful in predicting the arguments in favour of our membership. The respondents from both countries agreed that the two unquestioned benefits will be: the expansion of the market and trade and greater security in Europe.

CONCLUSIONS

Aleksandra Jasińska-Kania⁹ writes, referring to the findings of sociologists dealing with matters concerning images of nations and national stereotypes, that the most important types of evaluations and descriptions of other nations are built with two aspects involved: the first concerns morality and the second the efficiency of actions. While analysing the descriptions attributed to various nations, four factors that influence their ratings can be distinguished: 1) competence (efficient, intelligent, economical etc.); 2) incompetence (unreliable, inefficient, sluggish etc.); 3) morality (honest, tolerant, friendly etc.) and 4) immorality (aggressive, selfish etc.). By combining these factors it is possible to build the following four-space table:

	Competent	Incompetent
Moral	<i>"virtuous winners"</i>	<i>"virtuous losers"</i>
Immoral	<i>"sinful winners"</i>	<i>"sinful losers"</i>

Jasińska-Kania says that significant ties have been shown to exist between classifying a given nation to a given type and perceiving conflict potential and strength as well as predicting future relations between this nation and one's own nation.

In summing up the presented findings of research on the opinions of Poles and Austrians, let us consider in which spaces of the table we can place the manner of perceiving Austrians by Poles and the image of Poles in the opinion of Austrians.

Let us begin with the category which is definitely the easiest to reconstruct. Poles, in expressing their views on Austria, explicitly stated that it is a wealthy country, with good work organisation, and also emphasised that the inhabitants of Austria are hardworking, disciplined, tidy, modern. Thus Austrians are definitely "winners." The question is, are they "virtuous" or rather "sinful"? Here the answer is not so obvious. In the case of such features as honesty, tolerance or friendliness, Polish respondents were unable to express an explicit opinion. Taking into consideration the results of direct questions about the image of Austria, we know that according to the surveyed Poles this is first of all a holiday destination, in which the great

⁹ A. Jasińska-Kania. *Remarks on "Perception of Poland" Research Project*, typescript at the Institute of Public Affairs.

majority would like to spend their leisure time. On this basis one can assume that respondents felt well and safe in Austria or that they predict that this is how they would feel, which in turn would make us presume that the Austrian nation is perceived through a positive stereotype as "virtuous" (tolerant, friendly, honest etc.) rather than "sinful." This conclusion, however, cannot be drawn directly from the findings of conducted research.

Now let us think how Poland and Poles are perceived by Austrians. No doubt, in their opinion we are not a rich country, on the contrary - a poor, although developing country. The surveyed Austrians gave a positive rating of the changes that have taken place in Poland in the political realm, but a worse one of economic changes. While we are perceived as rather disciplined, on the other hand it can be seen that the surveyed Austrians found it hard to decide whether we can be called effective, or the opposite; hardworking or lazy; responsible or irresponsible. It therefore seems that although the image of Poles is not as explicit as the picture of Austrian "winners," it can be said that it is close to the "losers" model.

It is even harder to determine whether Poles are perceived as a "virtuous" or "sinful" nation. On the one hand, we are seen as rather friendly, while on the other, the Austrian respondents had a problem in determining whether we are tolerant or intolerant, honest or dishonest. In accordance with the present analysis, establishing whether a given nation is seen as "virtuous" or as "sinful" makes it possible to rate its conflict potential and the course of future co-operation. On the basis of the responses to the question on approval for Poland's integration with the European Union, we know that Austrians are not advocates of Polish accession and associate it with several important threats. One can therefore predict that Poles are perceived by Austrians as "sinful" rather than "virtuous" and further co-operation with Poland may entail conflicts.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Both surveys in Poland were carried out by Pracownia Badań Społecznych (PBS) in Sopot. The first survey took place in June 1999, the second one in late February 2000.

The survey in Austria was carried out by GfK Austria in cooperation with GfK Polonia. That survey took place in June 1999.

The surveys were based on representative samples of adult population of Poland and Austria. The size of the Polish samples was 1004 respondents in each survey; the Austrian sample consisted of 1000 respondents.

The research was carried out using questionnaires containing closed questions, scales and one open question. The questionnaires used in Poland and in Austria consisted mainly of the same questions with different names of countries (Poles were asked about Austria and Austrians, while Austrians answered the same questions about Poland and Poles).

In the second survey in Poland some of the questions used in the first one were repeated.